

1578 / 7850

(England)

THE
CHARACTER
OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

Commonly called the

R U M P, &c.

Began November 23^d. In the Year 1640

With a short Account of some of their

PROCEEDINGS,

*Ille nefasto te posuit die
in nepotum*

Perniciem, opprobriumq; Pagi.

HORACE

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumq; in tempore fœnus,
Et concussa fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

LUCAN

L O N D O N :

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THE PREFACE

THere are few Men of Judgement, Candor, and Impartiality, who will not allow a Government, consisting of King and Parliament, to be the best Constitution in the World, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Sicily, and some other Kingdoms, had once this Advantage; but unfortunately lost it; some by Faction, others by being conquered; and others, by a National depravity of Manners, joined to the Ambition of Princes, and the Intrigues of their Ministers. We of these Islands are now left the last who enjoy this Blessing in any Perfection; and we may still preserve it pure and entire, if we can retain some Degree of the Virtue of our Ancestors. But we should be careful what Persons we choose to represent us in Parliament; for, if (according to the vulgar Maxim in the Schools) *Corruptio optimi est pessima*, a CORRUPT Parliament would then, of all Evils in Government, be the Greatest; and exceed the worst Tyranny in a single Person. An absolute Prince might be Cruel, Rapacious, Covetous, a Dissipater of the publick Treasure, an Enemy of Religion, and it would be very bad: But all this would be nothing, when compared to a Mob of such Tyrants, most of them with the same Dispositions, and every way like that greater one, only the more provoking, as in their Persons they would be more contemptible; nor is this a Thing not to be supposed. Our History furnisheth us with an Instance of

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a Parliament of that kind; which is here undertaken to be described to the Publick, in one unmixed View; both because this hath not been yet done by any one, that I know of, and also, that a Prospect of it in this Manner, may possibly give our Country-men a full Notion, of how great Consequence it is to them, to be extremely cautious whom they trust at any Time to be their Representatives. Here they may have before their Eyes, what Abuses a CORRUPT Parliament is capable of. The Writer, in putting his Thoughts together on this Subject, has set himself a Rule to keep Religiously to the History of the Men and the Times, and not to indulge himself or the Reader in charging any Character too much, or deviating from the Truth, to make the Story more agreeable. The Facts and Characters are all of them to be found, either in my Lord Clarendon, Whitlock, Rushworth, Sir Philip Warwick, Ludlow, Hobbs, or some other Writer of those Times: But many Passages are omitted for the Sake of Brevity, or through Forgetfulness, or because they did not exactly fall in with the general Design: And such as are mentioned, are not always considered in the Order of Time in which they happened. True it is, some few of the Things here imputed to the Parliament, were not their immediate and direct Act; but, which is much the same Thing, though not all done by them, they were all done in their way, in treading their Paths, and by a Power derived from them. The greatest Scelerates had either their express Orders, their Approbation or Example and Authority, to plead for the worst Crimes then committed.

BUT what Means and Degrees these pretended Patriots arrived to the Height of Wickedness, and begat so great Irreverence towards their own Persons and Characters, is here endeavoured to be explained, and may possibly be instructive to those, who may not elsewhere have observed the Series of their Transactions; nor the Period, when properly they became dignified with the Title of the RUMPER; which was, when they had subverted all the honest Ends and Purposes of Parliaments, and when they sat by Virtue of their own Choice and Power, and not by the Free Election of their Country.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE PARLIAMENT

Commonly called the *Rump*.



THIS famous *Parliament*, which sat so long, did so much Mischief, & involved the three Kingdoms in Guilt and Misery, met at *Westminster* the 3d November, 1640. Thro' the Misrepresentations of those about the King, his Majesty unluckily thought fit to part with the preceeding Parliament upon ill Terms, and before he had Time to know them, which was thought a very impolitick Step, to say no worse of it. They were Men of

of Moderation, and zealous for the publick Good, and were the Reverse of their Successors; who never ceas'd till they drew upon these Nations infinite Calamities, and Disrepute, and even Contempt upon the very Name of a House of Commons.

'Mong many illegal and more weak Things, then committed in the Administration of Affairs, none could be worse judged than that precipitate Act of the Court; which struck, with Concern and Indignation, all who had a due Attention to his Majesty's Service, and Regard for the Constitution of the Realm: But 'twas the Subject of Joy and Triumph to the Men of turbulent Spirits; to the Enemies of the Church and of Peace; to those who longed for nothing more than to throw the State into Confusion, in hopes to repair their shatter'd Fortunes, to acquire Wealth and Power; or to glut their Malice and Revenge. And it must be owned, the Success answer'd beyond their most extravagant Imaginations: A great Part of their Purposes, and even Wishes, having been fatally effected, and many of the chief Managers having crept into high Stations, purloined Titles, and amassed immense Sums, who from their Birth, Merits, or Qualifications, could reasonably have aspired no higher than to the meanest Offices.

From Motives, and by Persons such as these, the Elections could not but be carried on very

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irregularly. The Factionous were Men of Craft and Industry, who stuck at nothing to carry on their Point. Returns were made of Persons to serve for Places, where their Names had never been heard of before; and where Bribes and Artifices, to debauch the Minds of the Electors and the Returning Officers, would not prevail, Violence succeeded. Neither was this the worst of the Case: When the House of Commons met, and by those and other Means, the Majority was clearly on the Side of the *Faction*, they turned out, and put in whom they thought proper, without any Sort of Modesty, or the least Attention to the establish'd Rules of the House, or to the manifest Justice of the Cause. Thus very many, against the Consent, and without the Knowledge of their Country, assum'd to themselves the Title of its Representatives, which yet was not ordinarily objected to them as any Crime: So much did their Conduct, as Members of the House, obscure the Reproach of their having dishonourably intruded into it.

'Tis true, a great Part of this foul Management in point of Elections, happened in Process of Time, when they were grown old and hardened in Corruptions of all Kinds, when they had lost the Remembrance of Right and Wrong: But it is also true, that even in the Infancy of their Power, the same Spirit prevailed, and they set out with the Assurance

rance of those, who had abandoned all Decency and Remorse. The Difference was, 'twas Passion, and Rage, and Madness in the Beginning: Afterwards, 'twas phlegmatick, impudent Villany, and Corruption.

Yet, it ought always to be remembered, that there were Men of that House, of as great Worth, Integrity and Abilities, as have sat in any Parliament whatever: Men, who were Proof against all Temptations of Gain, and not to be over-awed by Threats, or the Torrent that then raged: But these were out-numbered by People of different Views, different Principles. The Majority was a Compound of Pretenders to Zeal against Popery, of real Atheists, of professed Republicans, of weak and ignorant Slaves to the Managers; and above all, of wretched Mercenaries, who prostituted their Conscience, and sold their Country for their daily Pay.

The Leaders of this Band of Conspirators against their Country, deserve to be delivered down to Posterity, with all possible Marks of Infamy: But because Descendants may atone for the Wickedness (as they often degenerate from the Virtue) of their Ancestors, the Names of those Persons shall at present be passed over in Silence. Yet at the same Time, it may not be altogether unreasonable to sketch out the Characters of some few of the most notorious, that we may look back and see, what

fort of Persons those were, who had both the Will and Power to *impoverish* the *Publick*, and enslave their Native Country; that if for the future any *others* should unhappily arise with the same Dispositions and Talents, the Resemblance might be observ'd time enough to prevent a Parallel in the Story every Way.

One of these was a *Gentleman*, well known in those Times, both on the Score of his Parts, which were competently adapted to the Mechanical Part of Business, and also of some Disgrace, he had undergone from the late Men in Power; which, when that Power devolved into other Hands, gave him a Pre-
tence to set up for a *Sufferer*. He spoke in the House with great Readiness, and at all Times with a certain appearing Frankness, in his Manner of expressing himself, that was not disagreeable. No Man spoke more than he of Concern for the *Publick*; no Man had the *Publick* less at Heart; but it serv'd his Purpose, as it furnish'd him with Popular Topics for Harangues, and was likewise a convenient Prey for him and his hungry Creatures. He was a bold Undertaker in Business; not easily discourag'd by the Difficulty of the Work, and never to be put out of Countenance at the foulness of it. But his chief Excellence consisted in the dexterous Application of Lies to his several Purposes; and those

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he could frame extempore, and with that undaunted Assurance, they were of great Service to him at particular Seasons; although the too frequent Use of them, and his laughing at Truth, openly and wantonly, contributed no less to the Discovery of his Defect in Judgment: than his snatching at all Opportunities to get Money, betrayed the Weakness and Impotence of his Mind. However, his Influence in the *House* was great: From the Sense of what pleased himself best, he knew how to gain others; and he was the better qualified for the Times, and for the Part he had to act, being wholly void of Shame, and as entirely undisturb'd with any Fumes or Principles of Virtue, Honour or Religion; as free in himself from all Approaches towards Compassion or Humanity.

A *second* of these was a Gentleman of good Extraction, liberal Education, and of some Learning. From the Company he had kept in his younger Years, and from his Manner of Life, he had contracted an inveterate Malice against the Church, and imbibed early Principles against Monarchy: Though no Man went farther than he, in the Support and promoting of the most lawless Acts of Tyranny, when he had his Share of Power. He had been bred up to the Profession of Arms, and had got some Reputation that Way, which he quickly lost, by the unsoldiery Defence and *Surrender* of

a *Town* of Importance: For this ill Conduct he was accused, and might have suffer'd, if he had not been befriended by the *General*, who lived to repent his good Nature, to a Man, never very sensible of Favours or Benefits. That Gentleman betook himself afterwards to another Kind of Life, and got one of the *Seals* into his Possession, which he used to ill purposes enough, but always with good Manners, which was peculiar to him. Not being well fixed in any Form of Government, he ran into many wild Schemes, and was rather a Builder of Common-wealths, than a Member of any one. It was conjectured he had a Tincture of Enthusiasm in his Composition, which, if true, might account for Part of his Life, and perhaps be thought some Extenuation of several Things he had been guilty of, to the Prejudice of his Country, to which, perhaps, few Men really wish'd better, than he.

Another of these, and, it may be; one of the most outrageous of the whole *Sett*, was an Officer of mean Parts and Parentage; a medaling, blustering Fellow, determined, and very diligent: Conceited, Undertaking, incapable of offering any Reasons to convince others, or of comprehending Reason, so as to be perswaded himself. By the extraordinary Favour of the *General*, to whom he had been Useful in several Capacities, he had made his Way, from being a *Subaltern*, in a few Years,

to one of the highest Posts in the Army; and in every Post he still shewed great Uneasiness, as if the Place were not big enough to hold him, and that he could not breathe, until he got higher; which made him press, and bustle and affront every thing in his way. He was servile in his Applications to those who could advance him, and no Man endeavoured to make his Court more than he, or did it with a worse Grace: So that his Ambition was unmeasurable, but misbecame him. And 'twas observ'd of him by one of the same Side, who was no bad Observer of Men, *That he was a Clown in fine Cloaths*; intimating how uncouthly any Thing of Grandeur sat upon him.

When the *House of Commons* became filled with *Soldiers*, he got himself returned to serve for a Borough, and acted the same Part in the House he had done out of it; that is, he was restless in his Motions, and brutal in his Opinions; and tho he often appeared more busy than he really was, he never could appear more brutal. If at any Time an unjust Proposition, that might lay whole Countries waste, was to be made in the House, he was so apprehensive of its failing, he would run every where to summon the *Posse*, and take upon himself the Office of *Muste-Master-General* of the Party: And then if by great Accident, the House seem'd inclined to come into an Act less ill-natur'd than usual, 'twould put him out of all

all Patience, and he would shew the outmost Disquiet, being unable to keep his Countenance, or to sit still in his Place. Ingratitude was so much a Part of his Character, it was look'd upon with the Indulgence People allow for natural Infirmities, which are not to be cured. His Understanding was confus'd and muddy; so he never troubled his Head about Notions, or Schemes, or Laws of Government; all which he resolv'd into *Force*: Consequently his Politicks, as his Morals, were those of a *Dragoon*, to oppress and plunder where he could, which he performed with the most punctual Discipline, without Bowels or Mercy.

From him a good deal of the Spirit of the Officers of those Times may be collected: Altho' they differed in many other Particulars, yet in those of Rapine, Plunder and Inhumanity, they seem'd to agree very well, and to be uniform in their Principles, if we may so call them.

A Fourth of the *Ephori* was the then *Solicitor General*, a Man of all others the least amiable: He was descended of an ancient Family by an indirect Line; was extremely formal, proud and morose; conversed with few, and had a certain pedantick Manner of Declaring his own Opinion, and expressing a Contempt of that of all others; which, perhaps sometimes impos'd upon those who knew

knew no better than himself, and might have gained him the little Repute he had, of Skill in his Profession. And that which was very particular, his Self-sufficiency was so entire, that whatever he advanced he would believe to be right; and he would advance absurd Arguments in Point of Law, upon a Supposition of their receiving a Sanction from him: By which means, he would wrest the Law in a very shameless Manner. The rest of his Brethren of the Law he surpassed in ill Nature, Sowerness, and Inhumanity: Yet his predominant Quality was Insolence; which shone in every Act and Motion of his Life, in his Air, his Gestures, his Words, and particularly in his Looks: All which rendred him not less insupportable in Business, than he was in his own Family, where he was an absolute Lord and Tyrant. No wonder if a Person of his Frame, was a very evil Instrument in tumultuous Times, and especially when Bribery ran highest; since it was well known, no Man's Ears, and Hands, and Heart, were more open than his, to Gain.

There was indeed another of the same Fraternity, but of a different Temper, who had his Hands as deep as any Man, where there was Room, either for his Advice or Assistance, in most Acts of Violence, and barefac'd Corruption. He had the Appearance of Gentleness in his Carriage, and had been formerly

merly look'd upon as no ill-natur'd Man. In the more innoeent Part of his Life, he had associated himself with Persons of other Principles than those of his new Friends, and had carried those Principles, at least as high as any Man; but no sooner did he change Sides, than he seem'd to change Nature; and as if he had taken every Man of those whom he deserted, for a living and lasting Reproach to him, he prosecuted them with an hostile Fury, and at their Expence, made himself as acceptable as he could to his new Companions; to whom he had devoted himself Soul and Body: Insomuch, that Justice was never worse administered, nor Partiality more openly *exalted on the Bench*, than in his Time. The Fact was; His inordinate Desire to gain Credit with the Party, and Money by that Credit; being inflamed by a malign Hatred of his old Friends, he behaved himself like a mad Man, even in private Causes, wherever the Interest of any one of the Party was concerned. And after he had gone thro' the most of the Drudgery his Masters expected from him, he was found out by them to be a Man but of ordinary Abilities, and one proper to be disavowed as they should see Occasion.

There was another Lawyer of the Party in the House, of a much better Repute than either of the former. He was a Man of Order in his Profession, had made a good Figure at
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the *Bar*, and had sat in former Parliaments with Approbation; but being no good Judge of Men; and not always steady, he was made use of to serve Purposes he did not intend, and concurred with Persons, and in Things, he did not like. His Name in the Beginning was of use to the Managers, altho' he did not long continue to promote their Schemes. And here once for all it may be proper to be observed, That many contributed with all their Might and Main to the first Confusions, who afterwards became sensible of their Error, and would have retreated; but they found 'twas very difficult to wear off bad Company, and that all who have a Power to do ill, have not the same to do Good.

But far from any Remorse was a *Yorkshire* Man, of as eminently bad Qualities as any one whatever: He was opinionative, and a Boaster of his Talents, which were neither quite so bad as some thought them, nor in any Degree so good as he fancied, but might have passed for tolerable, if he had been content to have meddled only with Things within his Sphere. But his Ambition was active, and he procured an Employment, to which he was in no Sense equal, having neither Clearness, nor Courage, nor Fidelity, nor Uncorruptedness, nor Skill enough to disguise his notorious Defect in all the former; so he became a very early rank Sinner, and stands foremost in the

List

List of the most guilty of those Times. With a Design to deceive others, he was out-witted himself, and by an odd Turn, he was accused by those, with whom he had been an *Accomplice* in many Crimes: When he was to plead himself, he grew ‡ *distracted between Pride and Fear, and talked confusedly of the Trust reposed in him, and of his honest Intentions*; which was such Language for him to use, it provoked the general Indignation of all Men. He was committed to the Tower, and condemned, and the Circumstances were such, that the *immediate Hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men, who knew his Nature, Humour, and Transactions.*

Another was a Gentleman of the West of England of a good Estate, but no otherwise remarkable, than as a thorough Slave to the Party, of which he imagined himself a Governour. He was a stupid, tho' frequent Speaker in the House; but what made him heard with the better Attention, he would clap together a Parcel of such odd Blunders, as would provoke the gravest Men to Mirth; then he was always to be counted upon for a sure Man: He had moreover a venomous Dislike of the Church, which was a Merit; and tho' to chuse, he would have been glad to be a Gainer by an unjust or cruel Prosecution; yet rather than not be engaged in any Thing of that Nature, he was ready to serve according to the best of his Talents, (which was noise) upon the Foot of a Volunteer.

I had almost forgot the Speaker of the House, who was a superficial proud Man, and marvelously delighted with the Ensigns and Parade of his Place; of which he was said to be tolerably capable, by having applied himself to the Study of the Records and Journals of Parliament. Besides, his was a gainful Post, and he loved Money to Excess; so the poor Man continued to keep it, amidst many Changes, and under several Masters, until he and the Mace were both turned out together, and became the Derision of all People, who had seen to what Uses they both had been put.

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‡ Lord Clarendon.

I cannot omit taking notice of two others, who tho' of no Consequence in themselves, yet oftentimes, by either having Propositions put into their Mouths, or by seconding some of the others, made a Sort of a Figure in the House. One of these was a Justice of Peace for *London and Middlesex*; who from the Business of that Post, which he exceedingly liked, both for the Business and the Gain, had passed a great Part of his Time among Strollers and Pick-pockets, and thence contracted some Similitude of their Stile, Manners and Honesty; which enabled him to be very vexatious where his Authority was supreme, and troublesom elsewhere, by an impertinent Zeal, under the Direction of a weak Head. Yet such was the Indulgence of the Party towards a fast Friend, they frequently caressed the Man, and sustained his Follies, (wherein he abounded) at the same time that he was their Jest and Sport even to a Proverb.

The other was one of those we call half-witted; He was absurd and bold in Discourse, but in every other way a complete Coward. He was at first cherish'd by them, because he would say Things no body else cared to say; and because when they had a mind to tire the House out, they could set him to talk Nonsense, which he would pour forth upon any Subject, with great Ease, and Earnestness, and Eloquence, for Hours together, and yet without leaving the Hearers a Possibility of guessing at his Meaning, and even without understanding himself what he would be at; which, tho' a trifling Circumstance, was often of singular Service to them.

There were likewise several others of Note, who had a considerable Share in the Transactions and Wickedness of the Times, and One particularly (of a higher Orb) to whose Power, Craft, profound Dissimulation, implacable Temper, and Avarice not to be fatigued, was owing as much Mischief, as to any one Man in that or any other Age. But considering how miserable

able a Spectacle he afterwards became, being haunted by a *Demon* in his *Bosom*, and having out-lived a very good Understanding, 'twould be pity to say more of him in this Place. The other Persons already taken notice of, were some of the most persevering Sinners, and are sufficient to give us a View of the Genius and Disposition of the Heads of an Assembly; which one would think, could hardly be parallel'd in the Histories of any Time or Country.

Besides these, they had a Number of Hirelings, constant in Attendance, and prepared to call out, *The Question, The Question*, when ever it was necessary, with Clamor, to drown the Arguments of their Opponents, and by Numbers, to carry what they intended.

They had also, besides their Numbers, many Artifices to render the House as pliant as they could wish. Several of their own Members at once they got confined and imprison'd; many they threatned and frighted from Attending: And in the Height of their Glory, they bore Contradiction with an Impatience, as if it were a Crime to controul them. This brings to Mind a Story, among several others, to exemplifie both their Cunning and the Pride of their Hearts: The House was in a warm Debate of an Affair, which the Managers had much at Heart, and carried at length, to the irreparable Damage of their Country; but it met with vigorous Opposition, particularly from a Gentleman of great Reputation, much esteem'd every where, and terrible in the House to those People. In the Argument of that Day, he happened to drop an Expression, that serv'd them for a Pretence of Clamor against him: This Expression one of their Members, who was always willing to indulge his Spite, and merit a Place or Pension, took notice of, and complained of its Irregularity; for which the other, he said, ought to *withdraw*: Which begat another long Debate. The Conclusion was, After much Passion from the angry Man which shewed how extremely offensive that Per-

son was to them, he was ordered to *withdraw*, and to be committed to the *Tower*; whereby they inspired new Audacity into their Friends, they were avenged of an old Enemy, they got rid of a troublesome Guest, and endeavoured to warn others, not to provoke their Vengeance and Injustice.

No sooner did the House meet, than it was obvious enough, with how little Temper, Wisdom or Justice, they were likely to proceed. The Nation required Peace, that Mens Minds might be calmed; therefore the Party ran into Violences. They began with *Impeachments*: in order to which, a Committee was appointed to find out, or rather to make Misdemeanours and High Treason: Nor were the Committee wanting to their Business; Informers were encouraged, Papers searched, Words tortur'd, and Actions misrepresented; and after a most laborious Inquiry, they brought forth a real Justification of the Persons accus'd. However, they had Strength enough in the House thereupon to carry the Impeachments, and they still gave out they had further Discoveries to make, until some who saw their Aim, and knew they had Power to compass it, thought it high Time to provide for their own Safety, by not trusting their Lives and Honour in the Power of Men, who thirsted after the Blood of the greatest Persons in the Kingdom, and who had no Honour to lose in the pursuit.

It cannot be contended, but that Impeachments are a very proper resource against the Power of Ministers and Favourites. It is one of the most glorious Remains of our Constitution, that Criminals, how subtle soever, and however protected by an easy or a vicious Prince, may be reached in a Parliamentary way; which Method, in some Cases, is the best, and perhaps the only one, of coming at them. For Example, A privy Councillor adviseth his Master to enter into a War, without Provocation, destructive of the Trade and Interest of his Country, and contrary to national Faith confirmed by solemn Treaties: A Parasite contrives a Project to enrich the Minions of a Court, at the

the Expence, and to the Ruin of many Families; a *Trustee* for the Publick becomes an *Advocate*, and *Champion* for the *Pillagers* of it; or a *Minister* of State lays a Scheme, or signs an Order, that shall furnish Thousands of Innocent People. In one, or all of these and the like Cases, where perhaps the Guilty cannot be affected in the common Course of Law, and yet deserve to be signalized by the exemplary Punishment, as eternal Monuments of Corruption, and likewise of national Justice; it is the Duty of the *Representatives* of the *Commons* of *England* to impeach the Offenders; and it is the highest Breach of Trust in them, not thus to exert the Rights of the People, when called upon by such enormous Crimes, and by the *Sufferings* of their Country-men.

BUT on the other Hand, the Privilege of the Commons to impeach, ought not to be prostituted on slight Pretences, or to gratifie the Spleen of this or that Man, or Party. And in the Case before us, of those *unhappy Impeachments*, which created so much ill Blood in the Nation, and promoted so fast the ensuing Mischiefs, they were not only ill-tim'd, and fatal in their Fruits, but also wholly without Grounds, unless to have served one's Prince and one's Country, ought to have been imputed for Crimes.

The Persons accused could not be thought Guilty, even by their Adversaries, of betraying their Trust, of Sacrificing the true *English* Interest to that of Foreigners, or of any sort of *Bribery*, *Corruption*, or *Rapine*. But their Crimes were, They were faithful Servants of the Crown, and loved their Country: They were known to be averse from all Schemes of private Gain, and abhorred the Thought of any Innovations, either in Church or State. It therefore became the Interest, as it was the Inclination, of the governing Party, to remove out of their way such Obstacles to their Designs, and because there was not the least ground in point of Law, to proceed upon against them, they fell upon *Impeachments*, as the most artful way to conceal the Weakness of their Accusation, and at the same time

to raise that ferment, which was so necessary to their further Views.

But neither could *Impeachments*, extraordinary as they were, serve their Turn: They had recourse to Bills of *Attainder*, which are a summary way of robbing Men of their Honours, Estates, and Lives, and which are seldom justifiable, excepting against those who maintain the Equity of that extraordinary Method of Arraignment.

During the Dependence of the *Impeachments* and Bills of *Attainder*, there were usher'd into the House with great Solemnity, Accounts of *Plots* against the Government, and formidable Stories of *Invasions*, on purpose to alarm the Timorous, to enflame the Angry, to afford a Pretext for augmenting the Forces, the Command whereof, was to be in their Hand, and to multiply Taxes for the Benefit of the Advocates for the Cause, and the Creatures of the principal Men.

Those Distempers and Violences of the *Parliament* naturally inspired such, as were to be the Sacrifice, with a Resolution to defend themselves. So the *Civil War* commenced, which was manifestly the Effect of the Rage and Wickedness of the Managers in the *Parliament*, and of the Craft and Treachery of many about the *King*. And it was not deny'd by some of them, that they intended from the Beginning, to drive Things to these Extremities, which they said were necessary, to make the *King* a great *King*, though it was easily discerned, their Designs were to make him their Slave, to alter the Frame of the Constitution, to govern by Force and a standing Army, and to oppress and Tyrannize over their Fellow-subjects.

When they had got an Army and a Civil War, or Rebellion to their Mind, it was far from being their desire to make a speedy End of it; which was visible from many Things, particularly from this, That they issued out no Proclamation of Pardon to those, who should lay down their Arms. Nor was it their Interest; the War. or the Pretence of it, was to bring a-
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bout many *great Things* for them. And because they apprehended that an Army of *Englishmen* would hardly support them in what they projected, they invited a Body of *Foreign Forces* into the Heart of the Kingdom; and these they kept a long time after the Business was done, for which they were pretended to be called in; till at length, not out of Compassion to the Country, although heavily Taxed, for the Maintenance of the 2 Armies, and severely oppressed by them, purely because they had no further Work for them, and were now able to walk alone, they dismiss'd, and most liberally rewarded their Foreign Deliverers, as they term'd them.

Having all the Money of the Kingdom at their disposal, the Civil Power, and two Armies well appointed, it was no wonder Victory declared on their Side; which they used with the Insolence and Barbarity to be expected from them. And if there had been any Disposition to heal the Wounds of a bleeding Nation, here had been a fair Field for so happy an Event. A frank and generous Pardon might have established Tranquillity; but this was the Terror of governing Men, and what they spurned at from their Souls. So they set themselves to execute Rigour, as it were in despite of the Sense, and Wishes of Mankind, and of the Addresses of all those, who might be supposed to have most Credit with the Persecutors. But all Application seemed but to whet the Edge of Cruelty, many Parts of the Kingdom became the Scenes of their Butcheries, in cold Blood. The Manner of one of those was † *New, and without Example*. Several noble Persons and others surrendered to Mercy, having been induced to it, through the Persuasions of the Commanding Officer who attacked the Town, in which they had unfortunately shut themselves up. One or two of the Prisoners were presently Shot for Example, under Pretence of *Military Justice*, the rest ‡ they reserved to

† Lord Clarendon. Hist. ‡ Lord Clarendon, Vol. 3. Page 137. and 204. 205. 206.

to be more publick Spectacles. They were brought up to *London*, treated with all the Ignominy that could be devised, Condemned, and many of them Executed: And such an Alien to all Gallantry, was the Officer who perswaded them to surrender, that either from the Virulence of his own Nature, or his Passion to gratify his Masters, or perhaps from both, he misinterpreted the Laws of Arms and of Nations; as if a *Promise of Mercy* did but exempt the Prisoners from the *Fury of the Soldiers*, or a *Council of War*. However it were, it was an odious Case, and the Sufferers were not more pitied, than he and his Patrons were loaded with Execrations of all Sorts.

Not content with the many Executions in several Parts of the Kingdom, the *Parliament* seized upon all the Estates of the Delinquents, and appointed a *Commission of Sequestrators*, to enquire into the Effects of these, they had a mind should forfeit: This Commission was made up of several of the most Corrupt and Inhuman of the whole Tribe, and had a Power, almost unlimited, thrown into their Hands, by which they miserably grieved all Sorts of People who had any Thing to do with them.

It is difficult to conceive the gross Abuses these Men were guilty of; neither the Tears and Cries of innocent starving Widows, and Orphans, the Equity of the Cause, or their own satiety in Injustice, and Severities, could make them relax from their Resolution to do wrong. They undertook the Employment for that purpose; and their Consciences and Inclinations were of that mold, not to give them leave to receive their Hire for so agreeable a Work, and do it by halves,

Whilest they were so happily possess'd of a Rebellion to carry on their Purposes, many Persons, many Persons of all Ranks were seized, and without any Forms of Law, or knowing their Accusers, and even without any Accusation at all, were detained a long time in Prison; their Friends and Relations prohibited to come near them, and they not permitted to have

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common Necessaries ; Which Invasion of Men's Rights was so universally practis'd throughout the Kingdom ; it would fill a Volume to enumbrate how many Persons and Families were undone by it, I have seen a Manuscript in the Hands of a Nobleman, containing the Names of the Oppressors, and an account of Thousands of Innocent People, many of them Persons of distinction, who suffered in their Health, Estates, and several who lost their Lives by that illegal Method of Imprisoning, *ad arbitrium*. Which surely was a great Argument, among a Multitude of others, of the dangerous Consequence of breaking in upon the Fences of National Freedom. Not but that it is a prudent piece of Policy in all Governments, to strengthen themselves by securing the Persons of such Enemies, as Plot their overthrow : But the Methods, those Men made use of, were wholly unjustifiable, and would have rendered them odious, tho' they had done nothing else, that was bad ; For, what else could be said of them and their Proceedings, but that the Conservators of the Liberties of their Countrymen, not only gave up the chief Security thereof, which was the *Habeas-Corpus*, but shewed the Example themselves to others to strike at the Root of the Constitution ?

As the Army was their chief Support, they studied all ways of pleasing the Officers, and subjecting the Common Soldiers to answer their Ends. In order to the first of these, they paid them well, indulged them in all kinds of License, that a victorious Army are prone to ; and then to quiet their Minds against the Fear of Suits or Prosecutions for their Outrages, they kindly gave them a *Bill of Indemnity* for their sole Use and Protection ; and to justify all the Insults and Barbarities they had committed, which were without Number. And when the Country became exhausted by Taxes, and that all Men cried out to have the Army reduced, they fell upon a Scheme to their good Friends, and yet seem to comply with the Wishes and Wants of the People ; which was to model the Army so, as to keep up a great Number of Officers, and fewer
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Soldiers. By which means, they had a new Opportunity of Purging that Body of those they disliked, they gratified their Friends, and still retained the same Power to do Milchief, and continued the same Oppression upon the Country.

In Order to subdue the Spirits of the Common Soldiers to all their Uses, they set up *Martial Law*, independent of the Civil Magistrat, and in Times of Peace. This was to act fairly, and take off the Masque at once ; since it was in effect to set up for a Military Government without further Ceremony, For how averse soever the Soldiers might be to trample upon the Laws and Liberties of their Countrymen, they were by *Martial Law* to be compelled to it ; a Refusal to serve for such Purposes was thereby interpreted *Mutiny* ; for which they were instantly to be Shot, being deprived of the Benefit of the Laws of the Land, and totally excluded from their Right by *Magna-Charta* to an equal Tryal by a Jury of their Neighbours. And the Hardship was still the greater upon the Common Soldiers, that though their Country should not require their Service, and that they should desire to retreat to their Homes, their Families, or some honest Occupation, it was not in their Power ; but they were to be put to Death for *Deserters*, to attempt a Delivery from Idleness and Servitude. Thus by Virtue of this Law, the Soldier became first enslaved, in order afterwards to bring the Country under Bondage : Whilst the Officers gained a Dominion, which they abused according to the Tyranny of their Natures, and the Pride of Upstarts, and this perhaps might make common Soldiers the more ready to bring their Fellow Subjects into Slavery, that they might all be upon an equal Foot : For the the same Purpose, they put the *Militia* under new Regulations, and into the Hands of Men, notorious for Animosity, against the Constitution in *Church and State*, or of so little Interest or Stake in their Country, that they might be depended upon, as proper Instruments to bring into Subjection.

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Under the Notion of suppressing *Tumults* and *Riots*, they took all Arbitrary Measures, to prevent honest, Men from meeting and conversing freely together at the same time that they encouraged a seditious Number of Fellows in the City, to insult the well-meaning Freemen and Citizens who they imagined disliked their Proceedings. They dreaded lest the True *English* Spirit should revolt against such Task-Masters; therefore by that and some other terrible Ordinances, they did what in them lay, to sink the Genius of the People into that abject Tame-ness, that might make them more easily submit their Necks to the Yoke prepared for them. To this, were added many Examples of their Severity against those, who had fallen under their Displeasure. For they found out a way of trying them, not in their own Country where their Characters were known, nor in the Places where the Offences were committed; but here in *London*, where none of the *Jury* perhaps had ever heard of them, untill called upon for this particular Service; which was a Method against all Rules of common Justice. Neither could it be excused by any pretended Exigences of the State, nor the Evil ballanced by any Advantage those Men could propose from the breach of the Constitution in so Fundamental a Point: But they knew they did not deserve to be loved, so they took Care to be feared; as Men, who had Power, and would use it without regard to GOD or Man,

But one of the most fatal and confounding Parts of their whole Management, was the Act for *Continuing* themselves; which was since called the Act for the *Perpetual Parliament*. ‡ This was directly contrary to the Intent and Reason of the † *Triennial Act* which they had before affected to be so fond of, and which the Nation afterwards had ample Reason to wish had been always preserved Sacred and Inviolable.

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‡ The Act for the *Perpetual Parliament* as it is called *Pag. 204, Clar. Fol. 1st Vol.* † A Bill for the *Triennial Parliament*, passed. *Pag. 165, Clar. Fol. 1st Vol.*

It is not to be represented, what a Flood of Calamities overwhelmed the King and Kingdom, from this accursed Act. Without this, the sworn Managers, could not possibly have gone through with their Work. Their Power indeed would have lasted too long, but it would have had a Period within *three Years*; and the Fear of their being call'd to Account at the expiration of that Time for past Crimes, might have put some Bounds to their Wickedness. But the *engthening* the Time of their *Dominat.on* enlarged their Views, and they looked upon Justice to be as remote in this, as in another World, hence the lowest and meanest Creatures of that Assembly extended their Ambition, copied after their Elders and *Superi-ors* in *Corruption*, and dreamed of no less, than of swelling into Lords and Peers of the Realm; and hence it happened, that all Methods, how Scandalous soever, of acquiring Riches for the Members, were entertained in the House with that Joy and Ardor, which left little or no Room for Contradiction.

Hence befell amongst an infinite Number of other Mischiefs, *one* of such a monstrous Nature, it will be an everlasting Blot upon the Sense as well as the Virtue of the Nation; as it was at that Time a heavy Judgment upon it from Heaven: A general Infatuation seem'd to have seiz'd Men; for although many there were, who heartily disliked both the Thing and the Manner of it, and detested the Iniquity of the *Contri-vers*, yet the Parliament passed it in great Gaiety, and found Instruments as wicked as themselves to execute it. *Is habitus animarum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

Some of the chief Actors in that *black Affair*, were taken untimely away to answer for it elsewhere, before they could be brought to Trial here: Others by other Means escaped the Hands of the Ministers of Justice; and indeed all of them found much milder Treatment than they deserved.

But this Evil, great as it was, was but one, out of many, that flowed from the Continuance of that corrupt Parliament. There were some wise Men saw the ill Consequences of that *perpetuating Act*, and the
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Reasons they gave against it were sufficiently justified by the Sequel of Things: But no Mortal could have foreseen all the Ill it really produced. How terrible then must that Act have been, which was calculated to bring forth many Mischiefs unavoidable from the Nature of it, and which might, as in Truth it did, beget many more, that no Man could have conceived, if they had happened, It is true the Bill had the Royal Assent, but his Majesty did not weigh the Consequences of it, and the Craft of the Proposers; nor consider the Blow it gave to his own Prerogative, by investing Men in Power, who could have no Temptation to desire it, but the Purpose to abuse it; which they did to the full, and yet had the Art to load his Majesty as the Author of all those Violences, and to render him the Object of the Popular Rage and Invectives.

In all this Time that they were heaping Acts one upon another, against the Laws of the Land, of Reason, and Nature, they were also multiplying Taxes as fast as they could. There was a *Committee of Accounts* (a sad Pack indeed!) whose Trade it was to squander away the *Publick Money*, and to bring the *Publick* still farther into Debt. *Arrears, Services, Deficiencies, Subsidies to Foreigners*, with a Thousand other Pretences, were every Day made the Ground for new Impositions upon the poor Country; new Employments were created for their Tools; and Rewards; that is, *Pensions and Bribes*, were scattered up and down, though the Treasury was entirely empty; nay, though the Country was beggared, and Trade, which should bring in Money, was neglected, and wantonly thrown into other Nations. I am told a Gentleman now living, hath been curious enough, to take an Account of the several Sums those Plunderers lavished away from the Publick, and that the Sums voted for the Service of but one Year, exceeded all that had been given for thrice the same Period by the most prodigal of their Predecessors; yet that Year was a Year of Peace too, and the People were never so miserably poor as then.

It would puzzle a Man to guess what Sort of Notions those people at *Westminster* could have. They were

were eternally told of the Misery of the Country, they heard scarce any Thing out of the House, but the Groans of the suffering People, yet as soon as they got within *those Walls*, they voted away such prodigious Sums, at such a merciless Rate, one would think they took it to be the Duty of their Place, to scourge and plague the Land.

How little they considered the Interest of *England*, with Respect to foreign States, appeared * from many Instances, They unseasonably sent a Fleet at vast Expences into the *Sound*, under Pretence of mediating a Peace between the *Northern Powers*; but they acted the Mediators so ill, it was easily seen they made themselves a Party in the Quarrel. And which was still worse, they joined with *France* in a War against *Spain*, to the Ruine of the Trade and Commerce of *England*, and contrary to all Rules of Policy and good Sense, which at that Time should have engaged them rather to be *Neuters*, or if they would needs meddle in the War, it should have been, to have raised *Spain* to be a Ballance against the growing Power of the *French Monarchy*; which, though under a Minority, was then likely enough to be one Day a formidable Enemy to *England*. But those unskilful Rulers, cast their Politicks only for the Day, how for the present they might keep their Power and Dominion over their Subjects, and so left Posterity under many Presures they had treasured up for them.

It cannot be thought, but from so long a Train of Abuses and Corruptinos, the Parliament must have drawn upon it self great *Odium*. The Nation suffered with Impatience the Tyranny of such a profligate Sett, who plainly aimed at nothing less than to ride and vex, and harrass the three Kingdoms for ever: This seem'd the more insupportable, because by the long Execution of Power, their Persons became perfectly well known, and of Consequence, grew contemptible. Every Day produced some sharp Pamphlet or other against them: To revent this, they appointed a Com-

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* *Clar.* Vol. 3. p. 170. In the Year 1658, and 1659 *Whitock* also.

mittee to find out and examine Printers and Authors, and as far as they could, to take away the Liberty of the Prefs; pursuant to which, several Printers and poor Hawkers were illegally seized and confined, and otherways severely handled, at the Pleasure of those despicable Tyrants. But this had the usual Effect in such Cases; they were more and more pelted, more and more despised. The Women and Children in the Streets, and their own Footmen in the Lobby of the House agreed in the same Appellation of them, calling them a Company of Rogues. †

Divers Widows and other Creditors ‡ of the Parliament, flocking to the House, and in a rude and impetuous Manner, cried out to the Members -- Pay us our Money --- Justice --- the Rump --- the Rump, seeming ready to tear their Cloaths from off their Backs; insomuch, that those who had for so many Years Lorded over the three Kingdoms, were forced to send for Guards for a Defence, against a Parcel of Women. Addresses from most of the considerable Cities and Shires were sent against them, renouncing them for Representatives, and expressing the greatest Abhorrence of their Persons and Actions; untill being now grown the Aversion and Scorn of the World, Providence was pleased to dissolve the Charm, that had bound these Nations under the Rule and Discipline of such Wretches.

One may form an Idea, to what a Pitch of Detestation and Contempt that House of Commons was arriv'd, from hence, that the most unpopulat Man in the Kingdom became generally acceptable, only because he treated them as they Merited. *He loaded them* (as † one of themselves mentions) *with the vilest Reproaches, charging them not to have a Heart to do any Thing for the Publick-good, to have espoused a Corrupt Interest, &c. the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppression, accusing them of an Intention to Perpetuate themselves in Power.* And when a Principal Member did but mention the Words *Morality and common Honesty*, the other thought them so improper from his Mouth, he fell into an Exclamation

tion of Contempt, crying out, *The Lord deliver me from* ---

† Another of their Writers, who was also of the House, gives much the same Account of that Passage, he relates, That the Person, above hinted at, told the House, That they had sate long enough, unless they had done more Good, That they were Corrupt, Unjust, and Scandalous, &c. That it was not fit they should sit, as a Parliament, any longer, with a good deal more to the same Purpose; so he bid them be gone, and all of them tamely departed the House.

Such was the Fate of the memorable *Rump*; upon which, this Author makes several Observations of the Uncertainty of Worldly Things. They afterwards revived a little, and had some Glimmering Hopes of their Continuance: but their Hearts were quite broken by a final Dissolution; to the unspeakable Joy of all the rest of the Kingdom, to whom they had been so long a most uncomely irksome Burthen, and who, notwithstanding their very different Affections, Expectations, and Designs, were unanimous in their Weariness, and Detestation of the Long Parliament; which was obvious from the Multitude of Reproachful Addresses against them, and from the Behaviour of the City of London towards them, a little before they were dissolved. For, there could be no Invention of Fancy, Wit, or Ribbaldry, that was not exercised by the Citizens and their Apprentices, to defame them. As soon as the Evening was come, there was a continual Light of Bonfires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed; with such ridiculous Signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the No-regard, or rather, the notable Detestation they had of it; there being scarce a Bonfire, at which they did not roast a Rump, and Pieces of Flesh made like one, which they said, was for the Celebration of the Funeral of the Parliament.

† Whitelock. ‡ Lord Clarendon's Hist.

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